98th CONGRESS
1st Session

COMMITTEE PRINT

WMCP: 98-4

97TH CONGRESS LEGISLATIVE RECORD

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ALONG WITH

BRIEF HISTORICAL AND OTHER PERTINENT INFORMATION CONCERNING THE COMMITTEE

JANUARY 25, 1983

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

14-419 O

WASHINGTON : 1983

H782-5

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

98TH CONGRESS

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Committee on Ways and Means in the 97th Congress, which convened January 5, 1981, and adjourned sine die December 21, 1982, considered and took action on numerous measures within its jurisdiction. The Committee reported significant legislation in the fields of Federal taxation, national social security programs, and foreign trade and tariffs, much of which was ultimately enacted into law.

The Committee on Ways and Means approved several significant tax measures in the 97th Congress. In the first session, the Committee reported H.R. 4242, the Tax Incentive Act of 1981, which sought to encourage economic growth through (1) individual rate reductions targeted at taxpayers with $50,000 or less of income, (2) expensing of machinery and equipment; (3) corporate rate cuts; (4) substantial tax relief for small business; and (5) important incentives for savings and investment.

A number of these provisions were contained in the substitute adopted on the House floor and finally enacted in the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 (Public Law 97-34). Among the provisions of the Act are the following: (1) individual rate reductions over 3 years with indexing of tax brackets, personal exemptions, and the zero bracket amount, beginning in 1985; (2) the reduction of the top marginal rate from 70 to 50 percent; (3) a deduction for two-earner married couples to offset the marriage penalty; (4) a charitable contribution deduction for non-itemizers; (5) an accelerated cost recovery system; (6) a graduated rehabilitation credit; (7) incentives for research and experimentation; (8) corporate rate reductions; (9) incentives for savings and productivity, such as liberalization of the limits on contributions to Individual Retirement Accounts and Keogh plans, favorable treatment for employee incentive stock options and public utility dividend reinvestment plans; (10) relief in the taxation of oil and gas industries; (11) estate and gift tax relief and (12) reform of the rules governing gains or losses on straddles. Numerous other minor changes were also part of the Act.

The Committee also approved H.R. 4961, originally the Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1981, which was subsequently amended by the Senate and enacted into law as the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982 (Public Law 97-248). The Act contains spending reductions totaling more than $17 billion and revenue increases of more than $98 billion over the 3-year period 1983-85 in compliance with the reconciliation instructions contained in the First Concurrent Budget Resolution for fiscal year 1983. The revenue increases result from a combination of provisions which eliminate loopholes, increase taxpayer compliance, extend or raise excise taxes, and generally broaden the tax base, particularly for taxation of business income. The most significant provisions in the Act include the following: (1) Withholding on interest and divi-

dends and a number of other reporting and administrative provisions designed to improve taxpayer compliance; (2) repeal of safe harbor leasing and of the additional accelerated depreciation scheduled for 1985 and 1986; (3) cutback of corporate tax preferences; (4) half-basis adjustment for investment tax credits; (5) capitalization of construction period interest and taxes for corporations; (6) restrictions on the ability to defer taxation of foreign oil and gas income; (7) limitations on the ability to avoid taxation through use of possessions corporations; (8) restrictions on tax-exempt bonds for private activities; (9) reform of rules governing certain corporate acquisitions; (10) revisions of the completed contract method of accounting to eliminate certain abuses; (11) reform of rules governing the treatment of pension plans to eliminate inequities and to provide parity of treatment for corporate and noncorporate pension plans; (12) elimination of certain abuses in the taxation of life insurance companies and a temporary revision of those rules governing their taxation; (13) extension of the Airport and Airway Trust Fund with increases in certain aviation excise taxes; (14) extension of the medicare tax to Federal employees; and (15) numerous miscellaneous changes.

Other major tax legislation approved by the Committee includes major reform of the Black Lung Trust Fund in the Black Lung Benefits Revenue Act, H.R. 5159 (Public Law 97-119) and a significant restructuring of highway excise taxes in the revenue provisions of the Surface Transportation Assistance Act of 1982, H.R. 6211 (Public Law 97-424). The Committee also approved an important simplification of the rules governing the taxation of small business corporations, the Subchapter S Revision Act of 1982, H.R. 6055 (Public Law 97-354). Also enacted was a liberalization of the rules governing disclosure of taxpayer information for purposes of collecting certain Federal debts, the Debt Collection Act of 1982, H.R. 4613 (Public Law 97-365). A number of miscellaneous revenue measures were also reported by the Committee, several of which were enacted into law, including the Technical Corrections Act of 1982, H.R. 6056 (Public Law 97-448), the Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1982, H.R. 4717 (Public Law 97-362), the Periodic Payment Settlement Act of 1982, H.R. 5470 (Public Law 97-473), and changes in the taxation of Virgin Islands source income and payment of disability benefits, H.R. 7093 (Public Law 97-455).

The Committee, particularly through its Subcommittee on Trade, considered a number of important trade and tariff measures. Enactment of the Trade Agreements Act of 1979 approved and implemented for the United States the trade agreements negotiated during the Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN), the most comprehensive trade negotiation in history. The subcommittee maintained close and continual oversight of the implementation of the MTN agreements by the United States and by foreign governments, and of continuing developments under the trade agreements program.

The Subcommittee on Trade held 14 days of major oversight hearings on U.S. trade policy, including policy objectives, development, coordination, and administration; administration and adequacy of U.S. trade laws; trade agreements policy, implementation and enforcement; and specific trade policy issues.

The most controversial trade legislation of the 97th Congress was H.R. 5133, the Fair Practices in Automotive Products Act. The bill provided for minimum average levels of domestically produced components for all motor vehicle manufacturers selling more than 100,000 units in the United States annually. H.R. 5133 was sequentially referred to the Committee on Ways and Means for its consideration for only 8 working days during which the Subcommittee on Trade held comprehensive hearings on all aspects of the bill.

The House eventually passed H.R. 5133 by a vote of 215 to 188, but no action was taken by the Senate.

The Committee approved H.R. 7397, the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act, more commonly known as the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI). This legislation, which was requested by the administration and given a high priority by the President, has as its centerpiece an offer of one-way free trade, with certain exceptions such as textiles, footwear, leather goods, petroleum and canned tuna, to qualifying Caribbean countries. A $350 million economic aid package which was part of the original proposal, has already been enacted and partially distributed. Further, the legislation contains tax provisions with respect to rum excise tax payments to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and deductions for business expenses of attending Caribbean conventions.

H.R. 7397 was passed by the House but was not acted upon by the Senate.

During the 97th Congress, the subcommittee maintained close oversight of the U.S. Customs Service. In addition to authorizing legislation, the subcommittee closely monitored the operations and organization of Customs.

The House approved two legislative measures in the customs area. One amends the Tariff Schedules to allow business documents to enter the United States in a no-entry-required status as "intangibles." Such documents primarily enter duty-free as provided in TSUS item 870.10. In addition, the amendment would prohibit nominal consignees from conducting customs business on behalf of any other person unless the consignee is a licensed customshouse broker. The House also approved a measure which would allow articles to be delivered into successive customs bonded storage warehouses as long as the ultimate purpose remains that of export.

The subcommittee provides oversight of major trade agencies of the Federal Government through the consideration of authorizing legislation for the Customs Service, U.S. International Trade Commission, and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. In 1981, the Committee reported an authorization bill (H.R. 2450) which later passed the House. The Senate, however, never acted on the bill. H.R. 6094, the fiscal year 1983 authorization bill reported by the Committee, was approved by both Houses late in the 97th Congress, and enacted as Public Law 97-456.

During the 97th Congress, the Committee favorably reported 51 miscellaneous trade bills. Forty-eight miscellaneous trade bills passed the House in two omnibus bills, H.R. 4566 and H.R. 6867. Subsequently, the House and Senate agreed on and passed 58 such bills, enacted as Public Law 97-446.

The Committee through the Trade Subcommittee exercises strong oversight on the Multifiber Arrangement (MFA) which, under a system of bilateral agreements, regulates world trade in textiles and apparel. The subcommittee consulted extensively with the administration during renegotiation of the MFA in 1981. The MFA was subsequently extended for 4½ years from January 1982 through July 1986.

The Committee's consideration of trade adjustment assistance began early in 1981 in connection with administration proposals submitted with the President's budget for fiscal year 1982, which called for major revisions of the program for workers in order to reduce budgetary costs. The administration also proposed elimination of the funding for the firm program.

As a result of extensive hearing testimony and informal staff consultations of the Subcommittee on Trade, legislation was developed incorporating most of the administration proposals. The major change in the worker program made weekly cash benefits an extension of unemployment compensation tax additional weeks rather than a supplemental and concurrent benefit. Both the worker and firm programs were extended for 1 year to terminate September 30, 1983. These provisions were enacted on August 13, 1981, as title 25 of The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (Public Law 97-35).

In the area of social security, major changes were enacted through the budget reconcilation process; the Subcommittee on Social Security did extensive work on financing legislation; and the Committee reported legislation affecting continuing disability investigations in the social security disability program. An amendment was also passed partially extending a current exemption from the public pension offset.

In 1981, major reductions in social security benefits were included in the budget reconciliation legislation for fiscal year 1982 (Public Law 97-35). The Committee on Ways and Means reported amendments which eliminated the minimum benefit prospectively, phased out the students benefit prospectively, partially eliminated the lump sum death benefit, terminated parents benefits when a child reaches age 16, retained the retirement test exempt age at 72 for an additional year, modified the month of entitlement for those age 62, moved the cost-of-living to a fiscal year basis, and made certain other changes. The Committee amendments were supplanted on the House floor, however, by the so-called Gramm-Latta budget reconciliation amendment, several provisions of which were included in the Senate bill as well, and therefore not subject to modification in conference. As finally passed, the 1981 reconciliation package eliminated the minimum benefit for current as well as prospective recipients, phased out the students benefit with cutbacks for those in school, and maintained the Committee changes for the lump sum death benefit, parents benefits, retirement test, month of entitlement, and other minor changes. These changes resulted in expected reductions in OASDI expenditures of $23.9 billion in calendar years 1981-86.

Later in the year, through the enactment of Public Law 97-123, the minimum benefit was restored for all eligible to receive it before January 1, 1982, but the bill also included an extension of

the payroll tax to the first 6 months of sick pay, which increased revenues to the social security program. Public Law 97-123 also included authority for the OASI fund to borrow revenue from the DI and HI funds if needed to make timely benefit payments.

Also in 1981 the Subcommittee on Social Security conducted extensive hearings on the financial problems facing social security and held several markups on a financing bill, H.R. 3207. But action on the bill was not completed.

In 1982 the Committee responded to concerns over review of the disability rolls with legislation both to extend benefit payments for those being terminated from the rolls and to revise the appeals procedure. The revisions of the appeals procedure became controversial, however, and the legislation, H.R. 6181, was never brought forward for full House action. Late in the session the Senate attached amendments affecting the DI reviews to H.R. 7093, a Virgin Islands tax bill. The Committee proposed modifications to these amendments which then passed the House. The final legislation provided for a temporary extension of benefit payments and for institution of a face-to-face evidentiary hearing at the reconsideration level in termination cases. The bill also included temporary modifications of the public pension offset.

During the 97th Congress major changes were made in the programs under the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation. For the most part, these were changes proposed by the administration with the objective of cutting program costs and, thereby, reducing the Federal budget.

The Congressional Budget Office estimates that administration proposals enacted as part of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (Public Law 97-35) reduced unemployment compensation benefits in fiscal year 1983 by over $4 billion, Federal expenditures for the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program were reduced by $850 million, Federal Title XX Social Service funds were cut $748 million, and Low Income Energy Assistance was reduced by $672 million.

The most significant program changes contained in the 1981 Reconciliation Act included the AFDC amendments that drastically reduced the amount of earned income a family could have and retain eligibility for AFDC and medicaid benefits. This includes an amendment that limited AFDC to families with gross incomes below 150 percent of the State's standard of need, an amendment that capped the work expense disregard at $75 per month, and an amendment that limited the application of the $30 plus one-third earned income disregard to 4 months.

The most important unemployment compensation amendments contained in the 1981 Reconciliation Act include the repeal of the "national trigger" in the extended benefits program, the exclusion of extended benefit claimants in calculating the insured unemployment rate for extended benefits trigger purposes, and the increase in both the mandatory and optional State extended benefits trigger rates.

An administration proposal to require monthly retrospective accounting in the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program was included in the 1981 Reconciliation Act. Prior to this, computation

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of SSI benefits was based on the recipient's income and resources in the current month.

The funding for title XX Social Services and social services staff training was consolidated and reduced in the 1981 Reconciliation Act. Federal Title XX funds that would have been in excess of $3.1 billion in fiscal year 1983 were reduced to $2.45 billion.

Provisions contained in the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982 (TEFRA) (Public Law 97-248) contained additional, although much smaller, reductions in the AFDC and SSI programs that had been proposed by the administration as part of the fiscal year 1983 budget. For example, TEFRA contained administration proposals that allow States to prorate the cost of shelter and utility expenditures in AFDC households that include non-AFDC members, and that require the prorating of both SSI and AFDC benefits from date of application for assistance, and the rounding of both SSI and AFDC benefits down to the nearest dollar amount.

TEFRA contained several amendments pertaining to Federal and State unemployment compensation taxes. For example, the Federal unemployment tax wage base was increased from $6,000 to $7,000, effective January 1, 1983. This provision also requires States to have a State unemployment tax base of at least $7,000. The gross unemployment Federal tax rate was increased from 3.4 to 3.5 percent effective January 1, 1983. Employers in States with approved State programs will continue to receive the 2.7 percent offset credit as under current law, so the standard net Federal tax was effectively increased from 0.7 to 0.8 percent.

TEFRA also contained a temporary program that provides additional weeks of unemployment benefits for jobless workers who have exhausted regular State and extended unemployment benefits. This program, entitled Federal Supplemental Compensation (FSC), became effective on September 12, 1982, and expires on March 31, 1983. An amendment contained in the Surface Transportation Assistance Act (Public Law 97-424) increased the number of weeks that are payable under the FSC program, without extending the life of the program. Under this amendment, effective January 6, 1983, a maximum of from 8 to 16 weeks of FSC benefits is payable to jobless workers, depending upon the State insured unemployment rate.

In the field of health, significant legislation was enacted during the 97th Congress affecting the medicare program. The Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1981 (Public Law 97-35) and the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982 (Public Law 97-248) were the major pieces of legislation approved by the Committee. These two public laws provided for over 60 changes in the medicare and Professional Standards Review Organization statutes and were based on hearings and oversight work conducted by the Subcommittee on Health in the 96th and 97th Congresses. Provisions adopted provide for: a number of administrative improvements in the medicare program; repeal of the professional standards review organization program and revisions of peer review; limitations on reimbursement to hospitals, skilled nursing facilities, renal dialysis facilities, health maintenance organizations, physicians, and home health agencies; changes in benefits and services provided; changes in deductibles, coinsurance and premiums; changes requiring that medicare be

secondary payor in certain instances; and provisions to provide reimbursement for hospice care. In addition, Public Law 97-248 required the Secretary of Health and Human Services to develop proposals for legislation to provide that hospitals, skilled nursing facilities, and other providers to the extent possible, be reimbursed under medicare on a prospective basis.

The subcommittee gave extensive consideration, through the hearing process, to proposals aimed at stimulating increased competition in the health care field as a way to reduce the rate of inflation in the health care system.

Additional consideration was given to proposals to provide direct reimbursement for mental health practitioners and to provide reimbursement under the medicare program for personal emergency response systems.

II. JURISDICTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

U.S. CONSTITUTION

Article I, Section 7, of the Constitution of the United States provides as follows:

All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

RULE X, CLAUSE 1, RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Rule X, Clause 1, of the Rules of the House of Representatives, in effect during the 97th Congress, provides for the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, as follows:

(v) Committee on Ways and Means.

(1) Customs, collection districts, and ports of entry and delivery.
(2) Reciprocal trade agreements.
(3) Revenue measures generally.
(4) Revenue measures relating to the insular possessions.
(5) The bonded debt of the United States.
(6) The deposit of public moneys.
(7) Transportation of dutiable goods.
(8) Tax-exempt foundations and charitable trusts.
(9) National social security, except (A) health care and facilities programs that are supported from general revenues as opposed to payroll deductions and (B) work incentive programs.

BRIEF DISCUSSION OF FEATURES OF JURISDICTION

The foregoing recitation of the bare provisions of House Rule X, clause 1, paragraph (v), does not convey to the layman the real meaning of the features of the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means. In order that this may be more readily appreciated, this jurisdiction may be described as follows: [1]

(1) *Federal revenue measures generally.*—The Committee on Ways and Means has the responsibility for raising all of the revenue (with quite minor exceptions) required to finance the whole range of activities of the Federal Government. This includes the personal and corporate income taxes, excise taxes, estate taxes, gift taxes, and other miscellaneous taxes, as well as jurisdiction over borrowing within the debt ceiling which will be described below.

(2) *The bonded debt of the United States.*—The Committee on Ways and Means also has jurisdiction over the extent of the authority of the Federal Government to borrow money within the Federal debt ceiling as set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act, the so-called Federal debt ceiling. In this regard, the permanent Federal debt ceiling, as of the close of the 97th Congress, is set at $400 billion with an additional temporary ceiling of $890.2

[1] This is not intended to be a technically complete or comprehensive description.

billion running through September 30, 1983. This jurisdiction also extends to debt management techniques such as the Savings Bond program and authority to issue long-term bonds at interest rates in excess of the statutory limit of 4¼ percent. At the end of the 97th Congress, that authority was limited to $110 billion outstanding and held by the public.

(3) *National social security programs.*—The Committee on Ways and Means has jurisdiction over most of the programs authorized by the Social Security Act, which includes not only those programs that are normally referred to colloquially as "social security" but also social insurance programs and a whole series of grant-in-aid programs to State governments for a variety of purposes. The Social Security Act, as amended, contains 20 titles (a few of which have either expired or have been repealed), covering more than 680 pages of existing law in one compilation. The principal programs established by the Social Security Act and under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means in the 97th Congress can be outlined as follows:

(a) Old-age, survivors, and disability insurance (title II)—At present, there are about 115 million workers in employment covered by the program, and as of August 1982 benefits were being paid at a $157.2 billion annual rate to about 35.3 million persons.

(b) Medicare (title XVIII)—Provides hospital insurance benefits to 25.4 million persons over age 65 and to 3 million disabled persons. Voluntary supplementary medical insurance is provided to 25.5 million aged persons and 2.8 million disabled persons. Benefits under these programs are expected to exceed $55.5 billion during fiscal year 1983.

(c) Supplemental security income (title XVI)—The SSI program was inaugurated in January 1974 under the provisions of Public Law 92-603, as amended. It replaced the former Federal-State programs for the needy aged, blind, and disabled. In November 1982, approximately 3.9 million people received federally administered benefits under the SSI program. Of these. 1.6 million received benefits on the basis of age, 78,000 were blind, and 2.2 million were disabled. Total federally administered payments during 1980 amounted to approximately $8.7 billion, of which $6.8 billion were basic Federal benefits and $1.8 billion were federally administered State supplements to the payments.

(d) Aid to families with dependent children (title IV)—This program provides grants-in-aid to States for aid to families with dependent children and child welfare services. About 11.3 million people in 3.9 million families received AFDC benefits during the month of June in 1981. Total AFDC payments in 1980 were approximately $14.0 billion.

(e) Social services (title XX)—Title XX authorizes the Federal Government to reimburse the States for money spent to provide persons with various services. Generally, the specific services provided are determined by each State. The statutory ceiling on Federal matching funds available to the States for fiscal year 1983 is $2.45 billion. These funds are allocated on the basis of population.

(f) Unemployment compensation programs (titles II, IX, etc.)—these titles include the State unemployment compensation programs and the permanent extended benefits program. In fiscal year 1982, an estimated $20.7 billion was paid in unemployment compensation benefits, with approximately 10.6 million workers receiving unemployment benefits.

(4) *Trade and tariff legislation.*—The Committee on Ways and Means currently has, and has always had, responsibility over legislation relating to tariffs and import trade. In the early days of the Republic, tariff and customs receipts were major sources of revenue for the Federal Government. Throughout our history the question of trade policy has been one of the more vital and controversial areas of American politics and American economic policy. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Acts beginning in 1934, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, and more recently, the Trade Act of 1974 and the Trade Agreements Act of 1979 have formed the basis for our bargaining with other countries for the mutual reduction of tariff and other trade barriers. At the present time the trade policy of the United States is drawing the very close and serious attention of those within and without the Government. The total estimated amount of our foreign trade during 1982 involved approximately $256 billion in imports and approximately $212 billion in exports.

The committee, in the 97th Congress, exercised its jurisdiction over bills referred to it in the above areas and its oversight responsibilities through six subcommittees. These subcommittees are the Subcommittee on Trade, the Subcommittee on Social Security, the Subcommittee on Oversight, the Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, the Subcommittee on Health, and the Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation. The memberships of these subcommittees in the 97th Congress were as follows:

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE

SAM M. GIBBONS, Florida, *Chairman*

DAN ROSTENKOWSKI, Illinois
JAMES R. JONES, Oklahoma
ED JENKINS, Georgia
THOMAS J. DOWNEY, New York
FRANK J. GUARINI, New Jersey [3]
JAMES M. SHANNON, Massachusetts [3]
DON J. PEASE, Ohio
KENT HANCE, Texas
WILLIAM M. BRODHEAD, Michigan
DON BAILEY, Pennsylvania [1]
GUY VANDER JAGT, Michigan
BILL ARCHER, Texas
BILL FRENZEL, Minnesota
L. A. (SKIP) BAFALIS, Florida
RICHARD T. SCHULZE, Pennsylvania

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

J. J. PICKLE, Texas, *Chairman*

ANDY JACOBS, JR., Indiana
WILLIAM R. COTTER, Connecticut [2]
RICHARD A. GEPHARDT, Missouri
FRANK J. GUARINI, New Jersey [3]
JAMES M. SHANNON, Massachusetts
DON BAILEY, Pennsylvania [1 3]
WILLIAM M. BRODHEAD, Michigan
CECIL (CEC) HEFTEL, Hawaii
WYCHE FOWLER, JR., Georgia
BILL ARCHER, Texas
BILL GRADISON, Ohio
JOHN H. ROUSSELOT, California
PHILIP M. CRANE, Illinois

Subcommittee on Oversight

Charles B. Rangel, New York, *Chairman*

Sam M. Gibbons, Florida
J. J. Pickle, Texas
Harold Ford, Tennessee [3]
Cecil (Cec) Heftel, Hawaii [3]
William M. Brodhead, Michigan [3]
Wyche Fowler, Jr., Georgia [3]
Ed Jenkins, Georgia
Frank J. Guarini, New Jersey
James M. Shannon, Massachusetts
Marty Russo, Illinois

Philip M. Crane, Illinois
W. Henson Moore, Louisiana
John J. Duncan, Tennessee
James G. Martin, North Carolina

Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures

William R. Cotter, Connecticut, *Chairman* [2]

Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, California, *Chairman* [4]

Ken Holland, South Carolina
Wyche Fowler, Jr., Georgia
Marty Russo, Illinois
Robert T. Matsui, California
Andy Jacobs, Jr., Indiana [3]
Cecil (Cec) Heftel, Hawaii
Frank J. Guarini, New Jersey

John J. Duncan, Tennessee
Richard T. Schulze, Pennsylvania
Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan
W. Henson Moore, Louisiana

Subcommittee on Health

Andy Jacobs, Jr., Indiana, *Chairman*

Charles B. Rangel, New York
Harold Ford, Tennessee
Cecil (Cec) Heftel, Hawaii [3]
Ken Holland, South Carolina
Beryl Anthony, Jr., Arkansas [6]

Bill Gradison, Ohio
John J. Duncan, Tennessee
Philip M. Crane, Illinois

Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation

Harold Ford, Tennessee, *Chairman* [4]

Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, California [5]
William M. Brodhead, Michigan [3]
Marty Russo, Illinois [3]
Don J. Pease, Ohio
Kent Hance, Texas
Robert T. Matsui, California
Don Bailey, Pennsylvania [1]
Beryl Anthony, Jr., Arkansas [6]

L. A. (Skip) Bafalis, Florida
John H. Rousselot, California
Bill Gradison, Ohio
W. Henson Moore, Louisiana

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[1] Appointed to Committee Feb. 25, 1981.
[2] Died Sept. 8, 1981.
[3] Reassigned Sept. 22, 1981.
[4] Elected Subcommittee Chairman Sept. 22, 1981.
[5] Subcommittee Chairman Jan. 26, 1981 to Sept. 22, 1981.
[6] Appointed to Committee Oct. 7, 1981.

III. HISTORICAL NOTE

A Committee on Ways and Means was first established as an ad hoc committee in the first session of the First Congress, on July 24, 1789. Mr. Fitzsimons from Pennsylvania, in commenting on the report of a select committee concerning appropriations and revenues, pointed out the desirability of having a committee to review the expenditure needs of the Government and the resources available, as follows:

> The finances of America have frequently been mentioned in this House as being very inadequate to the demands. I have never been of a different opinion, and do believe that the funds of this country, if properly drawn into operation, will be equal to every claim. The estimate of supplies necessary for the current year appears very great from a report on your table, and which report has found its way into the public newspapers. I said, on a former occasion, and I repeat it now, notwithstanding what is set forth in the estimate, that a revenue of $3 million in specie, will enable us to provide every supply necessary to support the Government, and pay the interest and installments on the foreign and domestic debt. If we wish to have more particular information on these points, we ought to appoint a Committee of Ways and Means, to whom, among other things, the estimate of supplies may be referred, and this ought to be done speedily, if we mean to do it this session.

After discussion, the motion was agreed to and the following committee was appointed: Messrs. Fitzsimons (Pennsylvania), Vining (Delaware), Livermore (Massachusetts), Caldwalader (New Jersey), Lawrence (New York), Wadsworth (Connecticut), Jackson (Georgia), Smith (Maryland), Smith (South Carolina), and Madison (Virginia).

While there does not appear to be any direct relationship, it is interesting to note that the appointments of this ad hoc committee came within a few weeks after the House, in Committee of the Whole, had spent a good part of the months of April, May, and June in wrestling with the details involved in writing bills "for laying a duty on goods, wares and merchandises imported into the United States" and for imposing duties on tonnage. Tariffs, of course, became a prime revenue source for the new government.

However, the results of this ad hoc committee are not clear. It existed for a period of only 8 weeks, being dissolved on September 17, 1789, with the following order:

> That the Committee on Ways and Means be discharged from further proceeding on the business referred to them,

and that it be referred to the Secretary of the Treasury to report thereon.

It has also been suggested by one student that the committee was dissolved because Alexander Hamilton had become Secretary of the Treasury and thus it was presumed that the Treasury Department could provide the necessary machinery for developing information which would be needed. During the next 6 years there was no Ways and Means Committee or any other standing committee for the examination of estimates. Rather, ad hoc committees were appointed to draw up particular pieces of legislation on the basis of decisions made in the Committee of the Whole House. On November 13, 1794, a rule was adopted providing that:

> All proceedings touching appropriations of money shall be first moved and discussed in a Committee on the Whole House.

In the next Congress historians have suggested that the House was determined to curtail Secretary Hamilton's influence by first setting up a Committee on Ways and Means and requiring that committee to submit a report on appropriations and revenue measures before consideration in the Committee of the Whole House. It was also said that this Ways and Means Committee was put on a more or less standing basis since such a committee appeared at some point in every Congress until it was made a permanent committee.

In the first session of the 7th Congress, Tuesday, December 8, 1801, a resolution was adopted as follows:

> *Resolved,* That a standing Committee of Ways and Means be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions, relative to the revenue as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue, and of the expenditures; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon.

The following Members were appointed: Messrs. Randolph (Virginia), Griswold (Connecticut), Smith (Vermont), Bayard (Delaware), Smilie (Pennsylvania), Read (Massachusetts), Nicholson (Maryland), Van Rensselaer (New York), Dickson (Tennessee).

On Thursday, January 7, 1802, the House agreed to standing rules which, among other things, provided for standing committees, including the Committee on Ways and Means. The relevant part of the rules in this respect read as follows:

> A Committee of Ways and Means, to consist of seven members;
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> It shall be the duty of the said Committee of Ways and Means to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue, as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue, and of the expenditures, and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon: to examine into the state of the sev-

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> eral public departments, and particularly into the laws making appropriations of moneys, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and also to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements, as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments, and the accountability of their officers.

It has been said that the jursidiction of the committee was so broad in the early 19th century that one historian described it as follows:

> It seemed like an Atlas bearing upon its shoulders all the business of the House.

The jurisdiction of the committee remained essentially, the same until 1865 when the control over appropriations was transferred to a newly created Committee on Appropriations and another part of its jurisdiction was given to a newly created Committee on Banking and Currency. This action followed rather extended discussion in the House, too lengthy to review here.

During the course of that discussion, however, the following observations are of some historical interest. Mr. Cox, who was handling the motion to divide the committee, gave a very picturesque discussion of the many varied and heavy duties which had fallen on the committee over the years. He observed:

> And yet, sir, powerful as the committee is constituted, even their powers of endurance, physical and mental, are not adequate to the great duty which has been imposed by the emergencies of this historic time. It is an old adage, that "whoso wanteth rest will also want of might"; and even an Olympian would faint and flag if the burden of Atlas is not relieved by the broad shoulders of Hercules.

He continued:

> I might give here a detailed statement of the amount of business thrown upon that committee since the commencement of the war. But I prefer to append it to my remarks. Whereas before the war we scarcely expended more than $70 million a year, now, during the five sessions of the last two Congresses, there has been an average appropriation of at least $800 million per session. The statement which I hold in my hand shows that during the first and extra session of the 37th Congress there came appropriation bills from the Committee on Ways and Means amounting to $226,691,457.99. I say nothing now of the loan and other fiscal bills emanating from that committee. * * * During the present session I suppose it would be a fair estimate to take the appropriations of the last session of the 37th Congress, say $900 million.
>
> These are appropriation bills alone. They are stupendous, and but poorly symbolize the immense labors which the internal revenue, tariff, and loan bills imposed on the committee. * * * And this business of appropriations is perhaps not one-half of the labor of the committee. There

> are various and important matters upon which they act, but upon which they never report. Their duties comprehend all the varied interests of the United States; every element and branch of industry, and every dollar or dime of value. They are connected with taxation, tariffs, banking, loan bills, and ramify to every fiber of the body-politic. All the springs of wealth and labor are more or less influenced by the action of this committee. Their responsibility is immense, and their control almost imperial over the necessities, comforts, homes, hopes, and destinies of the people. All the values of the United States, which in the census of 1860 (page 194) amount to nearly $17 billion, or, to be exact, $16,159,616,068, are affected by the action of that committee, even before their action is approved by the House. Those values fluctuate whenever the head of the Ways and Means rises in his place and proposes a measure. The price of every article we use trembles when he proposes a gold bill or a loan bill, or any bill to tax directly or indirectly. * * *
>
> * * * the interests connected with these economical questions are of all questions those most momentous for the future. Parties, statesmanship, union, stability, all depend upon the manner in which these questions are dealt with.

Congressman Morrill (who was subsequently appointed chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the succeeding Congress, and who still later became chairman of the Senate Finance Committee after he became a Senator) observed as follows:

> I am entirely indifferent as to the disposition which shall be made of this subject by the House. So far as I am myself concerned, I have never sought any position upon any committee from the present or any other Speaker of the House, and probably never shall. I have no dispositon to press myself hereafter for any position. In relation to the proposed division of the Committee on Ways and Means, the only doubt that I have is the one expressed by my colleague on that committee, Mr. Stevens, in regard to the separation of the questions of revenue from those relating to appropriations. In ordinary times of peace I should deem it almost indispensable and entirely within their power that this committee should have the control of both subjects, in order that they might make both ends meet, that is, to provide a sufficient revenue for the expenditures. That reason applies now with greater force; but it may be that the committee is overworked. It is true that for the last 3 or 4 years the labors of the Committee on Ways and Means have been incessant; they have labored not only days but nights; not only weekends but Sundays. If gentlemen suppose that the committee have permitted some appropriations to be reported which should not have been permitted they little understand how much has been resisted.

The influence the committee emanated not only from the nature of its jurisdiction but also because for many years the chairman of the committee was also ad hoc majority floor leader of the House.

When the revolt against Speaker Cannon took place, and the Speaker's powers to appoint the members of committees was curtailed, the Democrats on the Committee on Ways and Means became the Democratic Committee on Committees.

Subsequently, however, in a change adopted by the Democratic Caucus in organizing the 94th Congress, the Caucus Steering and Policy Committee assumed the functions of the Committee on Committees, and has retained them to this time.

Throughout its history, many famous Americans have served on the Committee on Ways and Means. The long and distinguished list includes 7 Presidents of the United States, 8 Vice-Presidents, 8 additional Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, 4 Justices of the Supreme Court, at least 30 Cabinet officers, and quite interestingly, 21 Speakers of the House of Representatives. This latter figure represents nearly one-half of the 46 Speakers who have served since 1789 through the end of the 94th Congress. See the table which follows for names.

Major positions held by former members of the Committee on Ways and Means

President of the United States:
- Millard, Fillmore, New York
- James A. Garfield, Ohio
- Andrew Jackson, Tennessee
- James Madison, Virginia
- William McKinley, Jr., Ohio
- James K. Polk, Tennessee
- John Tyler, Virginia

Vice President of the United States:
- John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky
- George Bush, Texas
- Charles Curtis, Kansas
- Millard Fillmore, New York
- John N. Garner, Texas
- Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts
- Richard M. Johnson, Kentucky
- John Tyler, Virginia

Justice of the Supreme Court:
- Philip P. Barbour, Virginia
- Joseph McKenna, California
- John McKinley, Alabama
- Fred M. Vinson, Kentucky (Chief Justice)

Speaker of the House of Representatives:
- Nathaniel P. Banks, Massachusetts
- Philip P. Barbour, Virginia
- John G. Carlisle, Kentucky
- Langdon Cheves, South Carolina
- Champ Clark, Missouri
- Howell Cobb, Georgia
- Charles F. Crisp, Georgia
- John N. Garner, Texas

John W. Jones, Virginia
Michael C. Kerr, Indiana
Nicholas Longworth, Ohio
John W. McCormack, Massachusetts
James K. Polk, Tennessee
Henry T. Rainey, Illinois
Samuel J. Randall, Pennsylvania
Thomas B. Reed, Maine
Milton Sayler, Ohio
Theodore Sedgwick, Massachusetts
Andrew Stevenson, Virginia
John W. Taylor, New York
Robert C. Winthrop, Massachusetts

Cabinet Member:

Secretary of State:
William J. Bryan, Nebraska
Cordell Hull, Tennessee
Louis McLane, Delaware

Secretary of the Treasury:
George W. Campbell, Tennessee
John G. Carlisle, Kentucky
Howell Cobb, Georgia
Thomas Corwin, Ohio
Charles Foster, Ohio
Albert Gallatin, Pennsylvania
Samuel D. Ingham, Pennsylvania
Louis McLane, Delaware
Ogden L. Mills, New York
John Sherman, Ohio
Philip F. Thomas, Maryland
Fred M. Vinson, Kentucky

Secretary of War:
Roger Griswold, Connecticut

Attorney General:
Joseph McKenna, California
A. Mitchell Palmer, Pennsylvania
Caesar A. Rodney, Delaware

Postmaster General:
James M. Campbell, Pennsylvania
Samuel D. Hubbard, Connecticut
Cave Johnson, Tennessee
Horace Maynard, Tennessee

Secretary of the Navy:
Thomas W. Gilmer, Virginia
Hilary A. Herbert, Alabama
Victor H. Metcalf, California
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia

Secretary of the Interior:
Rogers C. B. Morton, Maryland
Jacob Thompson, Mississippi

Secretary of Commerce and Labor:
Victor H. Metcalf, California

IV. STATISTICAL REVIEW OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS IN THE 97th CONGRESS

A. Number of Bills and Resolutions Referred to the Committee

As of the close of the 97th Congress on December 21, 1982, there had been referred to the committee a total of 2,414 bills, representing more than 26 percent of all the public bills introduced in the House of Representatives.

The following table gives a more complete statistical review since 1960:

TABLE 1.—NUMBER OF BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO THE COMMITTEE, 86TH THROUGH 97TH CONGRESSES

	Introduced in House	Referred to Committee on Ways and Means	Percentage
86th Congress	15,501	2,156	13.9
87th Congress	15,745	2,114	13.4
88th Congress	15,296	2,163	14.2
89th Congress	21,899	3,161	14.4
90th Congress	24,227	3,806	15.7
91st Congress	23,575	3,442	14.6
92d Congress	20,458	3,157	15.4
93d Congress	21,096	3,370	16.0
94th Congress	19,371	3,747	19.3
95th Congress	17,800	3,922	22.0
96th Congress	10,400	2,372	22.8
97th Congress	9,175	2,414	26.3

B. Public Hearings and Markup Sessions

In the course of the 97th Congress, the full Committee on Ways and Means held public hearings on a total of 45 days, including 23 days in the first session and 22 days in the second session. During the first session, among the major subjects of hearings were tax aspects of the President's economic program, commodity "tax straddles," debt collection, treatment of LIFO recapture and FNMA net operating losses, as well as a series of field hearings across the country on the impact of the Administration's budget cuts. During the second session, among the principal subjects of the committee's public hearings were the Administration's change in Federal policy regarding the tax status of racially discriminatory private schools, the Administration's fiscal year 1983 economic program, technical corrections for the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, management of the public debt, tax compliance, pension equity, and the financing of the Highway Trust Fund.

The following table specifies in more detail the number of days, witnesses, and volumes published on each of the subjects covered by public hearings in the full committee in the 97th Congress:

TABLE 2.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY FULL COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
1981:			
Public debt limitation, Feb. 3	1	5	1
Tax aspects of the President's economic program, Feb. 24, 25; Mar. 3, 4, 5, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31; Apr. 1, 2, 3, 7	15	193	3
Commodity "Tax Straddles," Apr. 30	1	27	1
Issues relating to financing the Railroad Retirement Account, July 13	1	8	1
Aviation excise taxes and the Airport and Airway Trust Fund, Oct. 14	1	30	1
Debt collection, Oct. 15	1	4	1
Treatment of LIFO recapture and Federal National Mortgage Association net operating losses, Dec. 9	1	15	1
Impact of the administration's budget cuts, pt. I: Baltimore, Md., Indianapolis, Ind., Detroit, Mich., Nov. 17; Dec. 7, 8	2	65	1
Total, 1981	23	347	10
1982:			
Impact of the administration's budget cuts, pt. II: Sacramento, Calif., and Seattle, Wash., Jan. 18, 19	2	42	1
Administration's change in Federal policy regarding the tax status of racially discriminatory private schools, Feb. 4	1	18	1
Administration's fiscal year 1983 economic program, Feb. 18, 19, 22, 23, 24; Mar. 30, 31; Apr. 1, 2, 5, 6; May 5	12	120	3
Technical Corrections Act of 1982, Apr. 27	1	13	1
Management of the public debt, Apr. 27	1	5	1
Tax Compliance Act of 1982 and related legislation, May 18	1	32	1
Administration proposal for an increase in the public debt limit, May 25	1	3	1
Pension Equity Tax Act of 1982, June 10	1	27	1
Accounting treatment of the investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation for public utility ratemaking purposes, June 21	1	10	1
Financing needs of the Highway Trust Fund for fiscal years 1983–86, Dec. 1	1	34	1
Total, 1982	22	298	12
Total for both sessions	45	645	22

The six subcommittees of the Committee on Ways and Means were also very active in conducting public hearings during the 97th Congress. The following table specifies in detail the number of days, witnesses, and volumes published by each of the subcommittees:

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE			
1981:			
Trade agencies authorizations for fiscal year 1982, Feb. 26; Mar. 11	2	35	1
Trade adjustment assistance for workers, firms, and communities, Mar. 30, 31	2	9	1
Certain tariff and trade bills, May 5; June 15	2	64	1
Trade waiver authority extension, June 22	1	25	1

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS—Continued

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
U.S. trade policy:			
Phase I: Administration and other public agencies, Oct. 28, 29, 30; Nov. 2, 3, 12	6	55	1
Phase II: Private sector (pt. A), Dec. 10, 11, 14, 15, 16	5	43	1
1982:			
U.S. trade policy:			
Phase II: Private sector (pt. B), Feb. 1, 2; Mar. 18	3	30	1
Fiscal year 1983 authorization for Customs Service, International Trade Commission, and U.S. Trade Representative; recommendations for Mar. 15 report to Budget Committee, Feb. 25, 26	2	37	1
Caribbean Basin Initiative, Mar. 17, 23, 24, 25	4	61	1
Miscellaneous tariff and trade bills, May 17, 26	2	51	1
Trade in services and trade in high technology products, May 24	1	20	1
Extension of the manufacturing clause of the copyright law, May 27	1	11	1
Trade adjustment assistance for workers, June 14	1	13	1
Extension of MFN status to Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China, July 12, 13	2	38	1
Reciprocal trade and market access legislation, July 26	1	17	1
Tariff and trade bills, Sept. 16	1	9	1
Fair Practices in Automotive Products Act, Sept. 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30; Oct. 1	9	63	1
Current exchange rate relationship of the U.S. dollar and the Japanese yen, Nov. 30	1	9	1
Total	46	590	18
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY			
1981:			
Social security financing issues, Feb. 17, 18, 19, 26, 27; Mar. 6, 13, 16, 23	9	67	1
Automated data processing systems (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight), May 22	1	9	1
Social security financing recommendations, May 28	1	2	1
Elimination of minimum social security benefit under Public Law 97–35, Sept. 10, 1981	1	7	1
Volume providers of medical examinations for the social security disability program (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight), Sept. 18	1	6	1
Investment of the social security trust funds, Oct. 16	1	2	1
Social security appeals and case review process, Oct. 23, 28	2	15	1
Administration of the social security program, Dec. 11	1	4	1
1982:			
Implementation of 1981 Reconciliation Act repeal of social security student benefit, Feb. 5	1	14	1
Possible irregularities in medical examinations purchased from volume providers for the social security disability program (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight), Mar. 11	1	7	1
Disability Amendments of 1982, Mar. 16, 17	2	23	1
Social security administrative issues, Sept. 23	1	10	1
Social Security Miscellaneous and Technical Improvements Act, Dec. 6	1	10	1
Continuing disability investigation program, Dec. 8	1	3	1
Total	24	179	14
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT			
1981:			
Professional Standards Review Organization (PSRO) Program (held jointly with Subcommittee on Health), Mar. 24, 25	2	19	1
"Small Issue" Industrial Development Bonds, Apr. 8, 9, 10	3	78	1
Administration's fiscal year 1982 budget proposals relating to staffing the Internal Revenue Service, May 11	1	6	1

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS—Continued

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
Automated data processing systems (held jointly with Subcommittee on Social Security), May 22	1	9	1
Problems relating to the insolvency of the Black Lung Disability Trust Fund, July 27; Sept. 28	2	31	1
Volume providers of medical examinations for the social security disability program (held jointly with the Subcommittee on Social Security), Sept. 18	1	6	1
Impact of program changes and budget cuts in AFDC, medicaid, and social services programs (held in Memphis, Tenn.) (held jointly with Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation and the Committee on Energy and Commerce), Nov. 9	1	27	1
Taxpayer privacy issues, Dec. 14	1	19	1
Safe Harbor leasing provisions of the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, Dec. 15	1	5	1
1982:			
Impact of administration's budget cuts on the Nation's public hospitals (held in Denver, Colo.), Jan. 12	1	15	1
Impact of the administration's proposed budget cuts on children (held jointly with the Committee on Energy and Commerce), Mar. 3	1	16	1
Possible irregularities in medical examinations purchased from volume providers for the social security disability program (held jointly with the Subcommittee on Social Security), Mar. 11	1	7	1
Proposed regulations governing reimbursement under the medicare end-stage renal disease program, Apr. 22	1	20	1
Taxpayer safeguards, Apr. 26	1	23	1
Teamsters Central States Pension Fund reform and ERISA enforcement remedies, July 26	1	5	1
Abusive tax shelters, Sept. 28	1	6	1
Total	20	292	16
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT REVENUE MEASURE			
1981:			
Revenue Procedure 80–55, Apr. 8	1	2	1
Tax issues involved in the sale or transfer of professional sports franchises (held in Oakland, Calif.), May 1	1	10	1
Tax treatment of employee fringe benefits, May 13	1	2	1
Tax treatment of business expenses of state legislators, June 23	1	6	1
Payment of attorneys' fees in tax litigation, Sept. 28	1	9	1
Legislative proposals relating to sec. 280A and other minor tax bills, Oct. 19	1	15	1
1982:			
Miscellaneous tax bills, Mar. 16	1	29	1
Deductibility of certain expenses incurred by self-employed individuals, Apr. 19	1	10	1
Legislation relating to tax-motivated corporate mergers and acquisitions, May 24	1	18	1
Classification issues relating to independent contractors, June 11	1	21	1
Subchapter S Revision Act of 1982, June 14	1	15	1
Miscellaneous tax legislation, June 14; July 12	2	36	1
Total	13	173	12
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION			
1981:			
Administration's proposed savings in unemployment compensation, public assistance, and social service programs, Mar. 11, 12	2	44	1
Certain unemployment issues pending before the subcommittee, Oct. 28	1	26	1
Impact of program changes and budget cuts in AFDC, medicaid, and social services programs (held in Memphis, Tenn.) (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight and Committee on Energy and Commerce), Nov. 9	1	27	1

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS—Continued

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
1982:			
Administration's fiscal year 1983 legislative proposals for unemployment compensation and public assistance, Mar. 25; Apr. 21, 22	3	63	1
Effect of fiscal year 1983 budget resolutions on public assistance programs, June 23	1	12	1
Additional weeks of unemployment compensation benefits, Dec. 8	1	17	1
Total	9	189	6
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH			
1981:			
Proposed budget cuts in the medicare program, Mar. 30, 31; Apr. 1	3	19	1
Professional Standards Review Organization (PSRO) program (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight), Mar. 24, 25	2	19	1
Proposals to stimulate competition in the financing and delivery of health care, Sept. 30; Oct. 1, 2	3	91	1
1982:			
Medicare coverage and reimbursement of skilled nursing facility services, Feb. 2	1	9	1
Administration's proposed budget cuts affecting the medicare program, Mar. 2; June 15	2	31	1
Coverage of hospice care under the medicare program, Mar. 25	1	29	1
Medicare coverage of personal emergency response systems and direct reimbursement of mental health specialists, Dec. 14	1	20	1
Total	13	219	7
Total for all subcommittees	126	1,642	73

As can be seen from the foregoing statistics, during the 97th Congress the full committee and its six subcommittees held public hearings aggregating a grand total of 165 days, during which time 2,219 witnesses were heard resulting in the publication of 90 printed volumes of testimony. Included in this total are hearings which were jointly held by two or more subcommittees. These joint hearings comprised 6 days of testimony with 68 witnesses and resulted in 5 volumes of printed testimony.

In addition, written comments were printed after having been requested and received by the Subcommittee on Trade on H.R. 4761, a bill to extend for 2 years the residual authority to negotiate duties under the Trade Act of 1974.

With respect to markup or business sessions during the 97th Congress, the full committee and its six subcommittees were also very actively engaged. The full committee held such sessions on 47 working days, usually both morning and afternoon sessions, and the subcommittees an aggregate of 53 working days, making a grand total of 100 working days of markup or business sessions for the committee and its subcommittees during the 97th Congress.

C. Number and Final Status of Bills Reported From the Committee on Ways and Means in the 97th Congress

During this Congress the committee reported favorably a total of 37 bills, of which 33 passed the House of Representatives. Twenty-

one were enacted into law. It should be noted that this total is not at all indicative of the total number of bills considered by the committee, because when the committee goes into session on major tax, tariff, social security, health, unemployment compensation, or public assistance matters, it very often considers the broad subject rather than certain specific bills, and in the course of consideration of the subject makes every attempt to review all of the pertinent bills pending before the committee which are encompassed within that subject. Further, it is the practice of the committee normally to report bills on a major subject which may involve many, many sections containing subjects included in perhaps as many as 300 or 400 bills pending before the committee.

TABLE 4.—*Status of bills reported by the committee in the 97th Congress*

Action:	*Total*
Bills reported to House	37
Bills passed House	33
Bills reported to Senate	19
Bills passed Senate	20
Bills enacted into law	[1] 21

[1] It should be noted that the above category, "Bills enacted into law," is not numerically comparable with or precisely reflective of the final legislative progress of the category, "Bills reported to House," as in some instances a single public law may include the provisions of several separately reported bills.

V. CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE FROM THE 1st THROUGH THE 97th CONGRESSES

A. Chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means, 1789 to Present

Name	State	Party	Term of service
Thomas Fitzsimons	Pennsylvania	Federalist	1789 to 1795.
William Smith	South Carolina	do	1795 to 1797.
Robert G. Harper	do	do	1797 to 1799.
Roger Griswold	Connecticut	do	1799 to 1801.
John Randolph	Virginia	States Rights	1801 to 1805.
Joseph Clay	Pennsylvania	[1]	1805 to 1807.
George W. Campbell	Tennessee	Democrat	1807 to 1809.
John W. Eppes	Virginia	do	1809 to 1811.
Langdon Cheves	South Carolina	do	1811 to 1813.
John W. Eppes	Virginia	do	1813 to 1815.
William Lowndes	South Carolina	do	1815 to 1819.
Samuel Smith	Maryland	do	1819 to 1823.
Louis McLane	Delaware	do	1823 to 1827.
George McDuffie	South Carolina	do	1827 to 1831.
Gulian C. Verplanck	New York	do	1831 to 1833.
James K. Polk	Tennessee	do	1833 to 1835.
C. C. Cambreleng	New York	do	1835 to 1839.
John W. Jones	Virginia	do	1839 to 1841.
Millard Fillmore	New York	Whig	1841 to 1843.
James Iver McKay	North Carolina	Democrat	1843 to 1847.
Samuel F. Vinton	Ohio	Whig	1847 to 1849.
Thomas H. Bayly	Viginia	States Rights Democrat	1849 to 1851.
George S. Houston	Alabama	Democrat	1851 to 1855.
Lewis. D. Campbell	Ohio	Whig	1855 to 1857.
J. Clancy Jones	Pennsylvania	Democrat	1857 to 1859.
John S. Phelps	Missouri	do	Do.
John Sherman	Ohio	Republican	1859 to 1861.
Thaddeus Stevens	Pennsylvania	do	July 1861 to March 1865.
Justin S. Morrill	Vermont	Whig	December 1865 to March 1867.
Robert C. Schenck	Ohio	Republican	January 1867 to March 1871.
Godlove S. Orth	Indiana	do	January 1871 to March 1871.
Henry L. Dawes	do	do	December 1871 to March 1875.
William R. Morrison	Illinois	Democrat	December 1875 to March 1877.
Fernando Wood	New York	do	October 1877 to March 1881.
William D. Kelly	Pennsylvania	Republican	December 1881 to March 1883.
William R. Morrison	Illinois	Democrat	December 1883 to March 1887.
Roger Q. Mills	Texas	do	January 1887 to March 1889.
William McKinley, Jr.	Ohio	Republican	December 1891 to March 1893.

Name	State	Party	Term of service
William L. Wilson	West Virginia	Democrat	August 1893 to March 1895.
Nelson Dingley, Jr	Maine	Republican	December 1895 to March 1899.
Sereno E. Payne	New York	do	December 1899 to March 1911.
Oscar W. Underwood	Alabama	Democrat	April 1911 to March 1915.
Claude Kitchin	North Carolina	do	December 1915 to March 1919.
Joseph W. Fordney	Michigan	Republican	May 1919 to March 1923.
William R. Green	Iowa	do	December 1923 to March 1929.
Willis C. Hawley	Oregon	do	April 1929 to March 1931.
James W. Collier	Mississippi	Democrat	December 1931 to March 1933.
Robert L. Doughton	North Carolina	do	March 1933 to 1947.
Harold Knutson	Minnesota	Republican	1947 to 1948.
Robert L. Doughton	North Carolina	Democrat	1949 to 1952.
Daniel A. Reed	New York	Republican	1953 to 1954.
Jere Cooper	Tennessee	Democrat	1955 to 1957.
Wilbur D. Mills	Arkansas	do	1958 to 1974.
Al Ullman	Oregon	do	1975 to 1980.
Dan Rostenkowski	Illinois	do	1981 to

[1] Not known.

B. Tables Showing Past Membership of the Committee

1. MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS FROM THE 1ST THROUGH 97TH CONGRESS, BY STATE

	Congress
Alabama:	
John McKinley	23
David Hubbard	26
Dixon H. Lewis	27–28
George H. Houston	29–30, 32–33
James F. Dowdell	35
Hilary A. Herbert	48
Joseph Wheeler	53–55
Oscar W. Underwood	59–63
Arkansas:	
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[1] Died Sept. 8, 1981.
[2] Appointed Feb. 25, 1981.
[3] Appointed Oct. 7, 1981.

○